715 tale, probably accurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintin he is devoured alive by the cannibal, "as if they were jagua and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Munduruca dare for vengeance.

716 Those we to which we have referred are usually more forays. When rumor comes, a number of Munduruca get together, make ready the bows, arrows, bows and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this latter, who sometimes is no older than fifteen or sixteen, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preying his clothing, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the army head and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They grunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks at even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they fil some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign poing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [91] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk : adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can i heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround e hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with long staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselvesin ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Munduruca!"

Those colored men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The chilem, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

717 And then the Munduruca retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

L: Tocantins--38 C-5 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call cuichique-caqua, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajos know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily. It blazes brightly when carried on the run.

Almost inevitably these expeditions last so long that the Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations, some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajos tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajos, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extant, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajos, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajos village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarem.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Matto-Grosso.

The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen heads in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caramunxi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

L: Tocantins--SS C-S (1870) 1877 SQ13 Munduruca SQ13 - Cayuhib SP0

that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

. . . . . .

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin -- The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the Tapajos river banks.

Around that time, a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajos, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to these parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several women and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajos, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

1: Tucuntzo--59 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Cumbia SND

attempted to express as they could the profound rancor this infamous slaughter had awakened in them.

Here is how Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva described the Parintintin attack on the house of some frontiersmen neighbors of the Mission, in a report to the president of Para dated August 16, 1876:

"The Parintintin -- another populous tribe that leads a savage way of life, roaming the woods and maintaining a state of continuous warfare with the Mundurucu -- would accept civilization without delay if the Mundurucu were to be all gathered together. Since the Mission was founded the Parintintin have been less fiercely attached by their foe, and as a result have occasionally appeared around here in the course of their journeys. They were seen at various points on the Tapajos riverbanks, and appeared last at the mouth of the Jamanchim River, a tributary of the Tapajos, at the beginning of last July.

"At that very spot three people lived in a small hut by the stream -- two men and a woman who had come from Itaituba on the Upper Tapajos to extract rubber. One day at the beginning of last July, around five o'clock in the afternoon, they saw filing through the woods by the hut a large band of savages -- naked, [143] armed with bows and arrows, some of them adorned with macaw feathers. The three alarmed individuals imprudently trusted that the savages would proceed on their way and that nothing would happen, as had sometimes proved to be the case elsewhere when these Indians made an appearance.

"But it was not to be so: around six o'clock in the morning of the following day, their house was surrounded by Parintintin who screamed and howled like ferocious beasts as they attacked. The three occupants defended themselves with firearms, and a close battle ensued. The Parintintin chief was killed and many others wounded; the two frontiersmen were severely wounded -- one of them was hit by six arrows, some of which went right through him.

"In the midst of the battle the Parintintin ran out of arrows and went to get some more from their women who waited a short distance away. The two frontiersmen, taking advantage of this short respite, took to flight; and the poor woman, who amid the general alarm failed to accompany them, was captured by the

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajós

[385] There are still many tribes in the area between the Tapajós and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Arauas who live near the sources of the Rio Madre and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Arauas, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio do Azevedo (Serba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 leguas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jacaphon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Cawados, "the Slain," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajós is uncertain. Certain is, however, that [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucús preserve, show a short pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). *

> *Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaumarida, Marixida, Apicuricá, Maquirá, Enerons. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurins and another called the Apecuarida. Hypodiael are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajós. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

[7] But they
381 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Mawes. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

394 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[64] in so much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The finer ground from manioc is packed in
[69] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Wirmchilis] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariuara in Tapajos now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
364 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[72] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of skin enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondurucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monde "steal," ru "together," ca, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondee)", that is to say cutting off heads. Mauricus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the chief [Häuptling]." [101] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquiz, Pais-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 168) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropins already mentioned (p. 204, 303) who are also found on the Madeira river.

●746 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. --In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobeje do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

● 726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish
shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are
caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows
are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own
arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by
their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has
not much ammunition left. They attack only by day, and so they
are attacked, by the equally war-like Aracus, at night. In their
permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a
thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of mili-
tary age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
[E39 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the turé (beni), a reeping
248] cane trumpet, or with the kinhua, a whistle. With this instrument
the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle,
gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants
[202] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow
or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles
and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head
is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject
of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his
comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned
of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the
skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which urucu
has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the
skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of
resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting
trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the
communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime
and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinel. Enemies captured
in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

578 A man has several wives according to his power and importance.
He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned
to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily
his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger
[578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy
846] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like
the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Guruph, related linguistically to the *Munduruká*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 222), and that the *Nijuahiburs* (see *Nyuhiburs*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Munduruká* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Munduruká*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Carrodello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Munduruká*. (The *Guajajara-Tenetê* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wirayoye*, at the headwaters of the Maranon River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Munduruká*.

The *Munduruká* refer to themselves as *Wuidjeye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Munduruká* (*Mundurukú*, *Mondurucá*, *Mondurucú*, *Mundrucá*, *Monurucú*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Snethlage, 1932). A nickname widely used by Non-Brazilians is *Paiquicé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikóia*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black faces"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Munduruká*.)

POPULATION

In 1867, Martius estimated the *Munduruká* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Snethlage believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajós area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Snethlage (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Snethlage's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 930 for the Tapajós group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

The first reference to the *Munduruká* was published in 1768 when Manoel Noronha[4] listed the "*Maturuca*" among the tribes on the Madeira River. In 1769, according to Manoel Ribeiro (1885), the *Munduruká* began to move northward along the Tapajós River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jupuaia* (*Jurúna*, *Hy-ca-ahin*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajós. A "*Mundruca*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Munduruká* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[4] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Munduruká* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

4: Norton E-4 (no date) 1948
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Santarém and Cametá in 1780 and again in 1794. They attacked the *Maué* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (Cinatéhua). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 1,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Matogrôsso Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apiacá* (see Steinen, 1927), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far west. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio do Tropas (ca. 1796). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1769 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1862, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Steinen, 1927).

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Krause (1924) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio do Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1796 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necuidenua in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Ituriá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Munduruco SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ceremonies are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "karuhkd," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In Munduruco tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapa).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned,[1] a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst.]

4: Horton Σ-4 (no date) 1940
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though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koster (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Steinen believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Steinen's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father sleeps in his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

The Kunturuzú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite the Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors and with the Jê language family. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Kunturuzú villages. The idea of violence between two Kunturuzú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Kunturuzú warfare in some detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Kunturuzú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Tupinambá Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Fortes, 1948, p. 273.

villages.[11] By creating their warriors from a number of villages, the Munduruci were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

Both efforts called for a series of social linkages between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilineality and by the system of clubs and societies. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal clan system. In most Munduruci villages, a person could find other members of his clan. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Munduruci of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Munduruci and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 241).

Warfare

726 The greatest single interest of the Munduruku was warfare. It was waged continuously and successfully against all other tribes of a vast region until the beginning of the 20th century. Such was their reputation for unalloyed fierceness that the explorer Henri Coudreau remarked, "Les Mundurucus ne pratiquent ni la justice, ni le duel, ni la guerre, mais seulement l'assassinat."[20] The range of their operations was enormous, especially when one considers that their war parties journeyed on foot. On the north, the Munduruku attacks reached the south bank of the Amazon between the mouth of the Tapajos River and the city of Gurupá. To the south, they terrified tribes on the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajos River and the headwaters of the São Manoel and Juruena Rivers, well into the high Planalto de Mato Grosso. Tocantins claims that the Mundurucú even knew the city of Cuyabá on the Paraguay River in Mato Grosso.[21] Munduruku attacks were felt as far east as the Tocantins River and west to the Tapajos and probably beyond. This would be an enormous range even for a mounted people but in a foot-going group it bespeaks a remarkable singularity of purpose and the expenditure of enormous time and energy.

We have already discussed the intervillage cooperation in warfare that made these extended sorties possible.

20. Coudreau, 1897, p. 142.

21. Tocantins, 1877, p. 98.

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. 603 Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who 724 belonged to the Muchacha'arxen, a society of older, valiant 575 warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On 574 his route, the muchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pen, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

721 the leadership of the party, but the other chiefs were influential, also.

726 The warriors who accepted the invitation then busied themselves in making an enormous number of arrows, bows, and fresh bow strings. The warrior usually was accompanied by his wife or a female relative who carried hammocks and utensils, and with the other accompanying women, prepared food. The warrior carried only his arms and confined himself to hunting and scouting. The party moved slowly as it was necessary to procure subsistence and to scout the territory ahead. When the enemy village was neared, a temporary shelter was made in the forest and the women left there. The men then proceeded under cover of darkness to surround the village. At the first signs of dawn the warriors were already assembled in the forest on the village perimeter and the chief gave the signal to attack. The signal was sounded by two muchacha on their special war trumpets. Arrows, the points of which had been coated with resin, were ignited and launched into the roofs of the houses, and the warriors charged into the village making as much noise as possible to confuse and terrify the inhabitants. As the latter ran from their houses and attempted to escape they were seized by the Kundurucú.

727 Men and women were slain and decapitated while the children were taken captive. Loot was confined to a small amount of arms and ornaments that had more trophy value than anything else. Surprise was the major element in the attack and the Mundurucú always retired before the enemy had the opportunity to regroup and inflict losses on them. They retreated rapidly

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 102-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

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Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e., The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

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Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion[1]

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GEORG SIMMEL (1955:33–4) noted that warfare is frequently the only mode of social interaction between primitive societies. He saw the social relations of such groups to be characterized by diametric opposition between the norms of behavior applicable to members of the ingroup, on one hand, and toward members of outgroups, on the other. This dichotomy was internally self-consistent to Simmel, and he wrote (ibid:34):

> For this reason, the same drive to expand and to act, which *within* the group requires unconditional peace for the integration of interests and for unfettered interaction, may appear to the outside world as a tendency toward war.

Intergroup conflict was viewed by Simmel has having positive functions: it provides the basis for group formation and cohesion, and it accentuates and maintains group boundaries. Conflict, then, is not aberrant or dysfunctional. Rather, it structures social relations both within and between societies.

Lewis Coser (1956:95), writing to Simmel's general thesis, points out that social cohesion does not automatically follow from conflict, for "social systems lacking social solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced." The corollary proposition is offered that:

> . . . if the basic social structure is stable, if basic values are not questioned, cohesion is usually strengthened by war through challenge to, and revitalization of, values and goals which have been taken for granted (ibid:90).

Coser's view by no means contradicts that of Simmel but is an elaboration of the latter's thesis, as cited above, that intergroup hostility and social cohesion are only analytically different aspects of the same social process. Conflict and social solidarity are mutually re-enforcing; conflict promotes social integration, and solidarity is necessary if the group is to take effective common action against the outer world.

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The present paper will analyze the warfare pattern of a Brazilian Indian group, the Mundurucú, in the light of the propositions given by Simmel and elaborated by Coser. We will go beyond the thesis that warfare contributes to the maintenance of the social structure to consider also how this social structure organized the membership for military activity. Further, the thesis will be advanced that this type of social structure actually generated the bellicose activities and attitudes that functioned to preserve it, and that this circular relationship allowed Mundurucú society to continue through a period during which it was subjected to severe internal and external threats. Finally, we will conclude with a general hypothesis upon the relation between social structure, social cohesion, and conflict.

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values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karöko*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:6), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

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726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 400 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 554 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 202 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 701 729 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

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the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness.

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support.

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran

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721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manu-
648 factured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

175 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impres-
●726 sive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the trouble-
648 some Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168–9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237–8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabañas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but
[164] the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

175 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of
721 Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[131] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles
[126] of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

181 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(8)]

more, children were captured from other tribes and raised as Mundurucú without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Mundurucú gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

764 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 181 577 Sorcery provides interesting insights into the mechanisms by which the Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system.

[724] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

181 577 Internal harmony within the house-

[p.372 (b)]

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IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Arsiarsi* and *Dajeoxaperip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Arsiarsi* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Arsiarsi* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages